

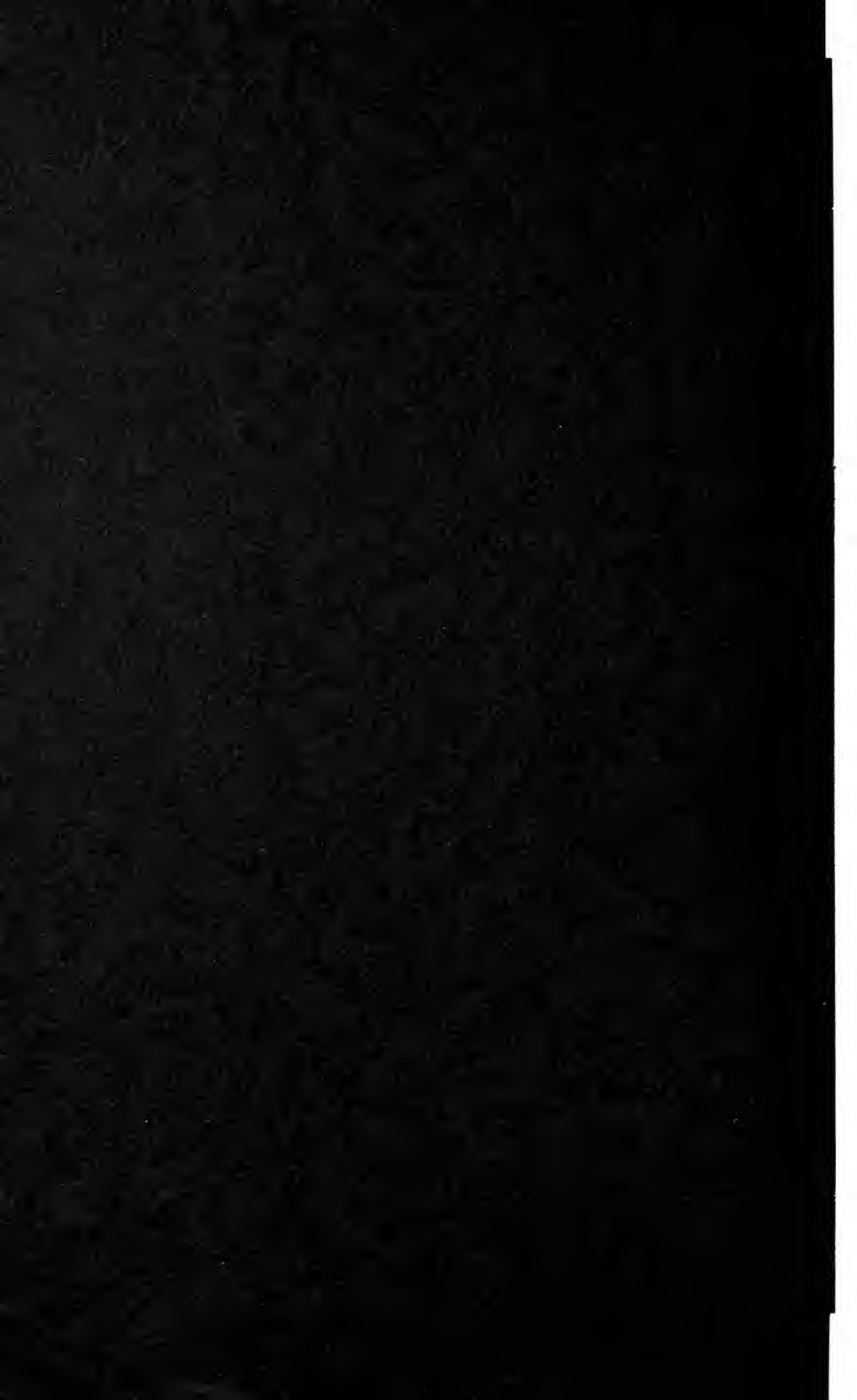
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60 RITES AND RITUAL ACTS

AS PRESCRIBED BY

THE ROMAN RELIGION

ACCORDING TO

THE COMMENTARY OF SERVIUS ON VERGIL'S AENEID



. . . *Morem ritusque sacrorum
adiciam* . . .

Verg. Aen. XII: 836, 837.



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Synopsis.

Introduction:

Vergil, the Bible of the Romans. Servius' commentary on Vergil. Servius *brevior* and *plenior*. Abundance of Roman rites and ritual acts especially in the commentary on the Aeneid.

Theme:

rites and ritual acts, as prescribed by the Roman religion, according to the commentary of Servius on Vergil's Aeneid.

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As Homer was for the Greeks, so Vergil was for the Romans in a certain measure their Bible. Even in the last days of passing paganism, when Christianity had long been made state religion by Constantine the Great, and the Council of Nicaea (325) had long taken place, certain classes or circles stubbornly adhered to the "old belief." What pains they did take to save of it, what perhaps still might be saved; how they did cling to Vergil, the Bible of their ancestors! There were, for instance, Symmachus, Macrobius, Servius, who in the *Testimonium Animae* (Dr. E. G. Sihler) pg. 360 are very properly called the "old believers, the clover-leaf of the dusk of the gods," — Symmachus, who under Theodosius the Great in 384 held the office of *praefectus urbis* and in 391 that of *consul*, and who even as a public official plainly and manifestly worked with great zeal for the restoration of the ancient deities, who even requested his Christian emperor by all means to retain the altar of Victory in the senate-hall, since he, Theodosius, owed so much to Victory; Macrobius, in whose "*Saturnalia*" eminent men and deep scholars express their opinion about the "old belief" etc., mainly in connection with Vergil; Servius, who is mentioned in the "*Saturnalia*" as one of the participants of the conversation, a modest young man, but of profound erudition (Macrobius Sat. 1, 2, 15; 7, 11, 2), and an authority in questions pertaining to Vergil (Macrobius Sat. 6, 6, 1), as we see from his commentary on Vergil, which is still extant to-day, although perhaps not in its original form. The problem of Servius *plenior* and *brevior* we will not discuss at this point, in fact we could say nothing new about it. For our work we shall make use of both, since both are set forth in the edition of Thilo, to which we refer, of course, clearly distinguished from each other by printing. And from this so-called Commentary of Servius, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, or rather, in order to define more closely the boundaries which we have drawn, from the so-called commentary of Servius on Vergil's Aeneid, we shall gather and group whatever is found in it about Rites and Ritual Acts, as prescribed by the Roman Religion, in private life and in public life; for from the very mutilated

definition of *ritus* (Servius Aen. XII: 836), we learn at least that by *ritus* are not only to be understood “usages in religious cult, but also usages in private life, inasmuch as they have any religious relation and consecration.”

Rites and Ritual Acts, as prescribed by the Roman Religion.

I. In private life.

Gladly would we have shown here at the beginning of the first part of our work, how the whole life of the Roman citizen, from the cradle to the grave, was influenced by ritualism and was not only overshadowed, but also regulated by it; unfortunately, however, nothing at all can be found in the commentary of Servius on the Aeneid, which refers to rites for childhood and early youth. Therefore, let us begin our discussion with weddings.

1.) At weddings.

How beautiful and significant is the quotation of Servius (I: 346): *Romani nihil nisi captatis faciebant auguriis, et praecipue nuptias!* A similar quotation we find in IV: 45: *nuptiae fiebant captatis auguriis*. About these *auguria nuptiarum*, to be sure, very little is known; even Servius says little or nothing about it. He mentions, it is true, (IV: 45) *auspices nuptiarum* and (IV: 166) *auspicia nuptiarum*, but that is all. Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus der Roemer*, pg. 324, 1) says: “In private worship the *auspicatio* gradually waned. The private *auspices* still exist, i. e. in name, in the *nuptiarum auspices*, which represent the rest of former *auspicia nuptiarum*.”

The forms of marriage which Servius mentions are the *confarreatio* and the *coemptio* (IV: 103). The *confarreatio* (from *farreum*=sacrificial wheat-cake) was evidently the oldest and most dignified form, since the *Flamen Dialis* and the *Flaminica* could be married by *confarreatio* only. *Coemptio*, as the word implies, was a mutual buying of bride and bridegroom. The bride thereby passed out of the parental

potestas into the power of her husband (*conventio in manus*). She took, it is true, upon herself in a certain measure a "*libera servitus*," yet she was rewarded (XI: 581) with the honorable name of *materfamilias*. Her dowry (*dos*) likewise became property of her husband.—

The solemn procession to the house of the husband took place by torchlight, and at the procession a boy who was a descendant of a "still blooming and blessed marriage" (*puer felicissimus*) or a girl of equal descent carried a basin filled with water from a pure fountain (IV: 167). The bride herself carried wool, in order to indicate that in married life she would spin and weave. (*Minerva est dea lanificii* (VII: 808; *lana in tutela Minervae est* VIII: 128.) Upon her arrival at the threshold of the house the bride decorated the doorposts with woolen fillets as a token of her purity; then she anointed the posts with oil (*uxor* = *unxor* from *ungere*) or sometimes with the fat of a wolf, either because the latter was said to be a remedy for many things, or because Romulus and Remus were reared by a she-wolf (IV: 458). She was by no means allowed to step on the threshold of the house (II: 469), for the threshold, — *limen*, often identical with *vestibulum* — is consecrated to Vesta, and here at the threshold she who thus arrived with fire and water, was received by the bridegroom who likewise appeared with fire and water, the two most important elements which are indispensable in every household (IV: 103, 167, 339). Upon entering the house the cry "Thalassio" was raised (I: 651). Wedding songs were sung (Hymenaeus signifying not only god of matrimony I: 651, but also wedding song IV: 127); the harsh *versus Fescennini* too (VII: 695) could not be omitted. The cry "Thalassio" is said to date back to the time of the rape of the Sabine virgins. A plebeian (I: 651), who was afraid that he would be deprived of his exceptionally handsome maiden, is said to have shouted again and again: "She is Thalassio's, the chief's," and thereby he kept her for himself. Of the various legends about Hymenaeus the following at least, which has a certain resemblance to the Thalassio legend may be mentioned: There was a handsome Athenian youth, Hymenaeus, as charming as a girl; moreover, he loved a virgin of an aristocratic family, but could not marry her, because he was poor. One day he followed her to Eleusis, to the festival of Demeter, but pirates came and led him with

his sweetheart and the other maidens over the wide, wide sea to a deserted region. The pirates fell asleep, Hymenaeus slew them, returned to Athens and promised to bring back the captured virgins on condition that his sweetheart be given to him in marriage. This was granted and ever since then they connected his name with every wedding in song (IV: 99). —

The bride sacrificed to Tellus before and after her journey to the house of her husband (IV: 166). Juno above all was the goddess of matrimony, whence her name Juno *iugalis* (IV: 16) or generally *pronuba* — divine brides-maid (IV: 45, 59, 166). According to the *Etrusca disciplina* earthquakes and thunderstorms are not at all fitting to a wedding (IV: 166), lightning is an evil omen (IV: 167) and thunder makes void the *confarreatio* (IV: 399).

2.) In married or domestic life.

Quite analogous to *Ζεὺς Ἐρκεῖος* of the Greeks, the Romans had their Jupiter *Herceus* as the protecting deity of house and home. The *maceries* (*quae ambit domum* II: 469) was sacred to him, but the kitchen (*culina*) was sacred to the *penates*. By *penates* Servius understands in general *omnes dei, qui domi coluntur* (II: 514; cf. also V: 64), i. e. the gods of the house, protecting deities of the inner household; for the word “*penates*” is connected with *penitus*, meaning inner, inside, or with *penetralis*, i. e. belonging to the interior, or it is perhaps best derived from *penus*, meaning supply of provision or its place of storage. Sacrifices were made to the *penates* “*in focus*” (I: 704; III: 178), and *focus*, related to *fovere* (III: 134), is even called *ara penatium* (XI: 211).

The *atrium*, the spacious hall blackened with smoke (*atrum ex fumo*, for there the kitchen was located), was the real family room of the Romans. Here the *paterfamilias* kept his money-chest, and here the daily meals consisting of two courses were served, as Cato attests (I: 726; IX: 645). After the first course (*sublati primis mensis*), whatever food and wine had been set apart for the gods, — and to the gods who were worshipped in the house, there belonged according to VI: 152 besides the *penates* also the *lares familiares* — was carried to the hearth and given over to the flames. All this was done in silence, until the servant said: “*Dii propitii*”

(I:730). The same devout silence was likewise observed, after the light had been lit. At the *libatio* the Romans used to adorn the cups with wreaths (I:724). Furthermore, they had special tables which they used at the *libatio* and which were often called bread tables, *mensae paniceae* (I:736; VII:111); these tables were usually round (III:257).—

Servius IV:58 proposes a general rule, to sacrifice to the propitious gods that they may lend their help, and to the unpropitious that they may do no harm (cf. also III:120). This rule, very likely, also applied to women in their married life, for III:139 Servius mentions Venus as the goddess of matrimony and Ceres as the goddess of divorce; Juno as the goddess of matrimonial blessings and Saturnus and Luna as deities of sterility. No traces are found in Servius that Venus in particular and under special rites was honored by women. Nor does Servius explain why sterility is attributed to Saturnus and Luna, (by conjecture Lua; thus also Preller, *Roemische Mythologie* II:22,3 and Wissowa pg. 172). But we are told VIII:343 that at the *Lupercalia* women submitted themselves to be beaten with a strap made of the skin of a he-goat, *ut careant sterilitate et sint fecundae*. Regarding Ceres as the goddess of divorce, Servius at least refers to the fact that Ceres cursed matrimony, because Jupiter who preferred Juno to her, had rejected her as his wife, or because her daughter had been kidnapped. Furthermore Servius says that at her festival in Rome not even the name of the father or of the daughter was allowed to be mentioned (IV:58), and that women on certain days of the festival imitated the lamentation of Ceres at cross-roads (IV:609).—

The chief goddess of matrimony, however, was and remained Juno. At Tibur she was invoked by prayer: "Oh Juno, in thy chariot sublime, preserve in good health with thy chariot and thy shield the young issue of my *curia* (I:17)." She was worshipped by the women as Lucina, the goddess of birth (*quae praeest partibus* I:8), and whosoever was approaching her temple on the *Esquiliae*, was not permitted to have about herself a knot which might perhaps prevent giving easy birth (IV:518). An easy or quick birth brought luck to the children also (VIII:139). In honor of Juno the Roman *matronae* i. e. "the married, honorable women" (Wissowa), "mothers of ancient Roman descent" (Preller), celebrated with sacrifice and prayer on the first of March the so-called

Matronalia, a festival, which dated back even to the time of Romulus and Remus and the rape of the Sabine virgins (VIII: 638). In domestic circles, too, this festival was celebrated in a pleasant and happy manner; else why, I wonder, the reference of Servius to the tragicomic question of the old bachelor Horace (Od. III: 8) *Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis?* —

Servius mentions still another festival for women, namely one which women celebrated in the temple of Fortuna *Muliebris*, at the same place where once Coriolanus, moved by the prayers of the women and of his mother and his wife, agreed to turn back. Only women who lived in their first state of matrimony, could adorn the statue of Fortuna *Muliebris*, *bis nuptae a sacerdotio repellebantur* (IV: 19.) —

And now, in the conclusion of this chapter, two more deities may be mentioned, who, especially in the country, were of great importance in the life of a mother; these deities are Pilumnus and Pitumnus. For these gods a “*lectus*” was prepared in the *atrium*, near the young mother (*puerpera*), until it was ascertained whether the child was fit to live. Varro calls them deities of infants, and Piso connects the name Pilumnus with *pello*, “*quia pellat mala infantiae*” (X: 76).

3). In certain universal cases.

Not much, of course, can be mentioned here, yet simply to pass over what little there is, would not be proper. Regarding cases of need and danger, Servius first refers to the *asylum* at Rome which Romulus had instituted as an imitation of that which the sons of Hercules had founded at Athens. An *asylum* is, as the word itself indicates (*a privativum* and *συλᾶσθαι*), an inviolable place under the protection of the deity, where the persecuted found protection (II: 761; VIII: 342; VIII: 635). Originally such places of protection were sacred groves or districts; cf. also II: 512, where Servius quotes from the sixth book of Varro's *Res Divinae*: “such *loca sacra* had to be in the cities, in order that a possible fire should not sweep entire rows of houses (*continua aedificia*), and that there should be something where one in need or danger could take refuge with his family.” Later, real temples i.e. edifices were included to have the privileges of the *asylum*; hence *ibidem* (II: 512) “Those in danger

flee to the altars for protection.” The temple of Juno, for example, (II:761) had the privileges of an *asylum*, yet Servius expressly adds: “Not all temples had this privilege, but only those to which it was granted by the *lex consecrationis*.” Furthermore, whenever one who was condemned to a flogging was led away and succeeded on his way thither to embrace the feet or knees of the *Flamen Dialis*, in such a case no punishment could be inflicted on him (III:607). Those who had been put in fetters were soon freed from them, if they were fortunate enough to be able to enter the house of the *Flamen Dialis*; the fetters then were carried through the court-yard to the roof and from there were cast down to the street (II:57).—

Juturna, furthermore, was a Roman fountain nymph (XII:139), and great power of healing was attributed to the water of her fountain, near the rivulet Numicus. This power of healing the very name of the nymph implies, Juturna, *quae laborantes* (those who are ill) *iuvare consuevit*; therefore the water of this fountain was certainly highly esteemed by invalid persons.

4.) For several expressly stated trades, professions, etc.

“Without sacrifices no field can be tilled” (III:136), a testimony which speaks well for the peasants. Saturnus is the ancient Italian deity of the crop, the author of agriculture and the blessings arising from it (VIII:319). Originally he was king of Crete, but, dethroned by his son Jupiter, he found under Janus in Latium a domicile and kingdom. The knowledge of cultivating the vine, the use of sickle and scythe, the “human” way of living, all this they owed to him. His wife is called *Ops = Terra* (XI:532). At the *Saturnalia*, not a festival for the peasantry alone, but rather a universal festival for all people, pleasant and delightful memories were cherished of the dear old days under the regime of Saturn. Even slaves were at this festival treated as freemen and entertained accordingly (VIII:319). Furthermore, Ceres is mentioned as the goddess of the peasantry (II:713); Faunus who is identical with the Greek deity *Πάρ*, is Inuus (*ab ineundo*), the deity of fecundation of the herds (VI:775), the protector against wolves (VIII:343). Silvanus is the deity of cattle and fields (VIII:601); and as

the god who had taught them the fertilization of fields, the peasants celebrated Pitumnus (IX:4), who consequently received the surname *Sterculinius*. —

Sailors also had their special deities. Of Neptune and his worship Servius only mentions this one thing (II:220; III:118) that only a bull could be sacrificed to him. Portunus, the deity of harbors, who was identified with the Greek Palaemon (V:241), as well as Phorcus, who according to Varro was originally king of Sardinia and Corsica, but after his defeat by Atlas was changed into a sea-god (V:824; X:388), are mentioned only "*en passant*." Of the *Palici* in Sicily, whom Varro counts among the *dei nautici* (IX:581), it is related that at first they demanded human sacrifices (*humanae hostiae*), but later satisfied themselves with other sacrifices which were substituted in their stead. (Their name is usually derived from *πάλιν ἔχειν* as "those who had returned from out of the earth.") Also III:275 may be referred to, where allusion is made to the old rite of immolating a sailor to Apollo at the promontory of Leucata. Those surviving from shipwreck paid their vows to the twin-brothers Castor and Pollux. Servius, to be sure, confirms this rite only regarding Samothrace, where there were two big statues of Castor and Pollux; still Castor and Pollux also had a temple at Ardea in Latium (I:44). —

The god of the bakers is Pilumnus who had taught them the grinding of corn, and after whom they called the pestle *pilum* (IX:4; X:76). All those tradesmen who used water at their work (*qui artificium aqua exercent* (XII:139), celebrated the *Juturnalia* in honor of the fountain nymph Juturna. —

The merchants worshipped Mercury, *quod mercibus praeest* (IV:638), and the physicians worshipped Aesculapius, the god of medicine, which science, however, his father Apollo had invented (X:316; XII:405). —

Perhaps another rite concerning freedmen, *liberti*, might be mentioned. They worshipped the goddess Feronia (VIII:564). In her temple, their hair closely clipped, they received the *pilleus*, the token of liberty. Moreover, in this temple of Feronia at Tarracina, the ancient Anxur, there was a stone seat bearing the inscription: "*bene meriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi*."

5.) In cases of death.

Jupiter is not the author of death, yet through his power he can decree to mortals a blessed or base death (XII: 851). The corpses of those, who had ended their life by hanging, were cast away unburied; thus the *libri pontificales* decreed. Cassius Hemina says that many of those, whom Tarquinius Superbus had forced to work at building sewers, had committed suicide by hanging on account of the disgrace they received. Thereupon Tarquinius is said to have issued orders that their corpses be crucified, and since that time suicide, or perhaps rather this kind of suicide was considered disgraceful. Varro adds, that at the *parentalia* the "little pictures" of those who had ended their life with the rope, were "hanging" (*suspensis oscillis parentatur eis*), in order to express what kind of death they had died (XII: 603). In all other cases, generally speaking, all are entitled to a proper burial, for a proper burial means "peace for the deceased" (XI: 106 and 107). Even those who have written about the various kinds of *pietas*, agree in this that at burials *pietas* should have the first place (VI: 176). Those too, for example, who were slain in battle, were buried, of course, as far as it was possible to do so (XI: 372). It was a general rule to bring the deceased, wherever he may have died, as soon as possible into his house and to lay him out (V: 64). Even those, whose bodies could not be obtained, for example those, who had lost their life by shipwreck or the like, could receive under certain rites *in absentia* the *iniectio terrae* (VI: 356); or a *κεροτάγιον*, an empty grave of honor, could be made for them (VI: 378), and such a *sepultura inanis* was considered just the same as a *sepultura plena* (VI: 325). —

After these introductory remarks we shall state that which pertained to a Roman funeral carried out *rite*. As soon as death had visited a house — and there the deceased was laid out for seven days (V: 64) — a twig of cypress was fastened to the door. Cypress was used, first, because cypress *κατ' ἐξοχήν* is the tree of death; for a twig of cypress loses all its vital faculty as soon as it is cut off (*numquam revirescit, renasci non solet, non repullat*); and secondly, in order that a priest might be warned against entering the house, whereby he would become impure, *funestus, funestatus*; for anything deceased makes impure (III: 64; IV: 507; VI: 216; VI: 8).

Then came the *pollinctor* who washed the deceased and rubbed his face with mealdust, *pollen*, — whence his name —, in order that the bluish color of death should not be apparent (IX:485). The *conclamatio*, the loud, lamenting calling of the deceased by name began and, as soon as another mourner came, the lamentation, which perhaps had ceased for a time, was again renewed (XI:36). Pliny in his *naturalis historia* says that the washing of the body with hot water, the *conclamatio* and the fact that the body was laid out for seven days, served the one purpose of ascertaining absolute death, for once, as it is said, a man became conscious on the burning funeral pyre and had raised himself, but all help for him then was too late (VI:218). —

Funeral processions formerly, i.e. in the ancient days, took place with the sound of trumpets (*ad tubam* V:138; XI:192) and with torch lights (*cum faculis, ad faces, ad funalia*) and very likely at night, in order to avoid meeting a magistrate or a priest on the street. Evening or nighttime also is indicated by the name of the pall bearers, *vespillones*, in the older form *vesperones* (XI:142, 143). Even *funus*, in its original broader sense the same as our “funeral,” is derived from *funale*; and *funale* is a rope (*funis*) covered with wax, consequently a torch. (Compare also I:727). Others again derive *funus* from *fungor, mortui* equal to *vita functi*. Children, especially of public officials (*magistratus*), were borne out (*efferebantur*) at night, in order that the house should not be impure. Generally, a regular *funus* was not necessary for children, because they were still under their father’s *potestas*, and in this respect they were on the same level with the slaves. Thus also Varro and Verrius Flaccus say that nobody was invited to the funeral of a *filius familias* (XI:142, 143). Later, the funeral procession, *exequiae*, (*dum corpus portatur exequias dicimus* II:539), no doubt, took place at day time, namely on the eighth day after death (V:64). The immediate family, the relatives and friends, dressed in mourning, the women also heavily veiled (II:92, III:64), followed, bearing olive branches in their hands (XI:101). Thus the procession continued across the *forum*, where the funeral oration, *epitaphium*, was held, (XI:24), and then out of the city; for since the enactment of the *lex Duilia* in 449 B. C., nobody was allowed to be interred in the city. This law, however, did not apply to

generals and Vestal virgins; in fact, for the unchaste Vestal virgin the *campus sceleratus* in the city was designated, where she was buried alive (XI:206). The saying that in very ancient times the deceased was buried in his own house (V:64; VI:152), Preller (II:103, 1) justly, perhaps considers a conjecture, wherewith the worship of the *penates* and *lares* in the house should be explained. In ancient times *humatio* i.e. interment was in use among the Romans, and generally a piece of honey-cake was placed in the grave with the body (*cum melle plerumque obruuntur* VI:420). After they had placed on the tomb an offering-meal, called *silicernium* V:92, for the *lar*, i.e. for the spirit of the deceased, they departed from the grave (*tumulus*) calling *vale, vale, vale!* (VI:231); cf. also I:219; II:644; XI:97). Later cremation of corpses was introduced (III:68), which was simply called *funus*; for *funus est ardens* or *incensum cadaver* (II:539; III:62). From VI:224 “*per noctem autem urebantur, unde et permansit, ut mortuos faces antecedant*” the conclusion may, perhaps, be drawn that at the time of Servius the Romans had returned to interment, probably upon orders from the government; else why the imperfect tense *urebantur* and above all the perfect tense *permansit* — “whence has remained the custom” etc.? At the funeral of a king in ancient times horses, slaves and even his favorite spouse were slain at the funeral pyre and burned with him (V:95), as it was generally customary to burn with the deceased, what was dear to him in life (X:827). In the *antiquae disciplinae* the principle was established: “What decorations and prizes one had acquired through one’s bravery, should adorn one also in death” (XI:80). Thus, for example, in case the deceased was a soldier, according to the *militaris disciplina* even his war-horse was led to the *sepulcrum*; for, says Pliny, a horse alone besides a man can weep, feel and understand sorrow. The armor of the deceased, too, was carried along “*perversa*” (cf. also XI:93); for “whatever was dear to one in life, should not be taken from one in death” (XI:89). The burning funeral pyre — and the sad privilege of kindling it was in the hands of closer relatives (VI:223) — was, according to Varro, surrounded by cypress wood, in order that the people attending the funeral should not be annoyed by the unpleasant odor. For the people stood about and responded to the lamentation led by

the *praeſica*, and they remained until the fire had died out and the ashes had been collected; in fact, until they were finally dismissed with the word *ilicet* (VI: 216). Immediately preceding these *verba novissima* (*ilicet* = *ire licet*), a purification of all who attended the funeral took place, consisting of sprinkling with water and fumigating with laurel and sulphur (IV: 635; VI: 229ss). —

On the ninth day the remains were deposited (*cadaver crematum reliquias dicimus, conditum iam sepulcrum* (II: 539), and an expiatory sacrifice took place in the family, followed by a funeral repast, still on the ninth day, hence called *novendiale*. Games (*ludi funebres* or *ludi novendiales*), which the wealthy celebrated in honor of their deceased, likewise, took place on that day (V: 64). In most cases gladiatorial games were celebrated, which date back to the year 264 B. C., when many families (*gentes*) sent captives to the funeral of Junius Brutus, which captives his grandson ordered to fight in pairs (III: 67). The sentiment, the belief that blood must flow at the grave, and not only blood of the *victimae*, but even human blood, was deeply rooted in the hearts of the Romans. As a matter of fact, in ancient times, there were human sacrifices, for example, of captives, slaves etc. But since human sacrifices were expensive and cruel, they began — at least so as to retain the color of blood — to place red clothes or covers and red flowers on the deceased (III: 67). At another place (X: 519) Servius says: "After it had been considered cruel to kill captives at the grave, it seemed fit to have *gladiatores* fight there, who "*a bustis*" were called *bustuarii*." Still elsewhere (XII: 606) we read: "When, perhaps, there were no captives or *gladiatores*, relatives of the deceased lacerated their cheeks, in order that blood should flow." This, however, was prohibited by the laws of the Twelve Tables in these words: "*mulier faciem ne carpito*." But with this prohibition it by no means seems to have ended, for in V: 78 and III: 67 Servius refers to it, quoting Varro in the present tense. —

Perhaps a word might be said here about the *manes* and all that is connected with them. According to III: 63 *manes* are souls at that time, when they have left the human body and have not yet entered into another body. Others call the *manes* simply *di inferi, quod ad inferos manent* i. e. *abeant* IV: 490; still others consider them to be night-deities in the

space between heaven and earth, *unde defluunt, i. e. manant* (III: 63). General explanation connects *manes* with the old word *manum* = *bonum*. Thus, however, they are only called *κατὰ ἀντίφασιν*, for they are not good (I: 139), but even *noxiae* (III: 63). The *manes* of Remus, to be sure, had caused a *pestilentia* (I: 276), and so had those of Palinurus (VI: 378); but to Remus and Palinurus great injury and injustice had been done; no wonder, that their *manes* had to be pacified and reconciled! Later the *manes* were confused with *lares* and *larvae* and *lemures* and *genii*. Servius (III: 302) calls the *manes piorum* "*lares viales*" and (VI: 152) the *umbrae* "*larvas a laribus*," and in VI: 743 he identifies the *manes* with the *genii*. Similar is the theory of Apuleius (*de deo Socratis*, chapter 15, and given by Servius in the annotations to III: 63), according to which theory the *manes* are *animae melioris meriti*, called *genii* in the body; *lemures* are spirits in general, ghosts are called *larvae*, and the propitious and friendly ones are the *lares familiares*. Yet to enter into such deep speculation or to express an opinion about philosophical theories — as, for example, the purification and expiation of the soul, which is mentioned in VI: 340 — lies, perhaps, outside of the sphere of this dissertation. Servius himself is satisfied with a mere reference in that direction.

II. In public life.

At the beginnig of this second main division, which treats of the rites and ritual acts in public life, there are set forth:

A.) The common rituals which should be grouped in connection with "*sacrificia, sacra, ludi* and *sacerdotes*."

1.) *Sacrificia*.

By *sacrificium* is meant any voluntary gift offered to a deity, whereby one acknowledges dependence and hopes to render the deity propitious. Servius defines *sacrificare* as *veniam petere*—to seek mercy or favor (IV: 50). "To obtain the aim connected with offering" the Roman expresses by *litare*; for *litare* is *sacrificiis deos placare* (II: 119) or *propitiare et votum impetrare* (IV: 50).—

About unbloody sacrifices very little indeed is found in Servius. He mentions in VII:109 that cakes of flour, honey and oil are proper sacrificial gifts; and in II:116 he tells us that the deities, when it was difficult to obtain the proper animal for sacrifice, had to be satisfied with an imitation made of bread or wax (*simulata pro veris accipiuntur*). At Delos, furthermore, and in many other places, Servius says — and he expressly refers to Varro regarding this — were altars of Apollo, on which no victims were slain; the god was worshipped only by prayer. When, therefore, later a bull was sacrificed to Apollo (and Neptune), it was undoubtedly done at altars elsewhere. Nor did the goddess of Love and Beauty demand bloody sacrifices; for according to I:335 sacrifices to Venus *Paphia* consisted only of frankincense and flowers. Of the *libatio* at daily meals and of purgatory and expiatory sacrifices at funerals, which, of course, must be numbered among unbloody sacrifices, mention has been made before (Part I:2 and 5).

Under the head of bloody sacrifices we cannot entirely pass over human sacrifices. A comparison also may be made with what has already been stated (Part I:4) under *Palici* and (Part I:5) under gladiatorial games. The *devotio*, self-sacrifice, whereby a man dedicates himself, for the state's welfare, to the *inferi* or delivers up another to them by curses, does not come under this topic; and the one special case, which Servius III:57 mentions, has, as Wissowa pg. 322, 7, remarks quite correctly, nothing to do with the old Roman '*devotio*'. According to the story which Servius (III:57) mentions, a poor man at the time of the pestilence in Massilia had declared himself ready to take upon himself the blame of the whole state and to give up his life for it, after they should have supported him for one year splendidly and from public funds. The so-called *ver sacrum*, a sacrifice vowed in times of great need, consisting of all living things that should be born the following spring, originally the firstlings of both men and cattle, but afterwards of cattle alone, since the children were sent as *sacri* across the boundary, as soon as they had grown to manhood (VII:796), may also be mentioned. Especially cruel were the rites of Diana at Aricia, where a fugitive slave, after breaking off a twig from the forbidden tree in the grove, by a bloody duel with him who occupied the position at that time, could become *rex nemo*—

rensis in his stead (VI:136); and even though Servius in connection with this (II:116) says *quamquam servi immolantur*, slaves are also human beings. —

Let us now pass on to the animal offerings. By *hostiae*, as the name implies, originally are understood animals, which were sacrificed at an expedition against the foe; by *victimae* are understood those that were sacrificed after victory was gained (I:334). Later, however, no such exact lines of distinction were drawn. In II:156 Servius even derives *hostiae* from *hostire* — to reconcile, propitiate. A *hostia*, which on the way to the altar succeeded in freeing itself and escaping, was called *effugia*, and the animal substituted for it was called *succidanea*. If the animal had been pregnant, it was called *forda*, and if barren, *taurea* (II:140). In contrast to *hostiae animales*, in which taking the life — *anima* — of the animals was the primary purpose, they called such animals, by which through inspection of their entrails — *exta* — the will of the deity was to be revealed, *hostiae consultatoriae* (II:119; III:231; IV:56; V:483). —

The proper victim for Apollo and Neptune was a bull, *taurus* (II:202; III:118), the same also for Hercules (VIII:183). The victim for Jupiter, however, was not a *taurus*, (III:21), but a young bullock, *iuvencus*, not considering the so-called *suovetaurilia* (*sus-ovis-taurus*), because there, besides Jupiter, other gods also were taken into consideration (IX:624). A sow, *sus* (VIII:43), was sacrificed to Juno, a young pig, *porcus*, to Ceres (III:118), a he-goat, *hircus*, to Liber (III:118); to Faunus or Pan, likewise, a he-goat, *caper*, was sacrificed (VIII:343), because these animals were hostile to these deities and consequently hated by them. To Proserpina a barren cow (*vacca sterilis* VI:251) was sacrificed, because Proserpina herself had never given birth. At an *ovatio*, they sacrificed sheep, *oves*, but at a *triumphus*, bulls, *tauri* (IV:543) were sacrificed. For the celestial gods, *superi*, white animals were preferred, for the gods of the lower world, *inferi*, black or dark ones were used (III:118). —

The qualities of victims, too, were well considered. Bulls, for example, had to be *intacti*, i. e. they were not permitted to have been under the yoke, beasts of burden; sheep should not have the tail full of thorns, nor a black tongue nor their ears split, and by all means had to have the two projecting

teeth, which usually appear in the second year; hence called *bidentes* = *biennes* (VI: 38, 39; IV: 57). At all sacrifices the female victim was preferred to the male. If, in sacrificing a male victim, no success (*litatio*) was obtained, then a female *succidanea* was tried. If that, too, failed, no second *succidanea* could be substituted (VIII: 641). —

Sacrifices to all gods were made with covered heads, so that nothing should distract their devotion. In sacrificing to Saturn and Hercules, however, they did not cover their heads, because both these gods were represented with their head covered and imitation should be avoided (III: 407; VIII: 288). When offering to Fides, even the right arm was covered with a white band, to show, that faithfulness must be kept and preserved conscientiously (I: 292). To Terminus they sacrificed only under the open sky, *sub divo*. Even over his sacred stone in the temple of Jupiter at the *capitolium* there was a place in the roof, which was uncovered and free; and in this temple which was built by Tarquinius, they had to include the stone of Terminus without moving it, because Terminus simply refused to yield, while the other gods whose *sacella* were likewise in the way, willingly followed the *evocatio* (IX: 446). Parsimony at the sacrifices was a duty in those good old days, when parsimony was still a virtue (VIII: 105). The altars were covered with green turf, *caespites*, especially when sacrifices were made to Mars; for turf was sacred to Mars, because, as Pliny says in his *naturalis historia* (XII: 119), it springs from human blood. —

All rites pertaining to a sacrifice had to be observed with painful exactness, to avoid a *piaculum*, i. e. a transgression, sin, whereby a *piaculum*, i. e. expiatory sacrifice, or at least a repetition of the entire rite would be necessary. It was considered a *piaculum* to choose the wrong victim for a deity, for example, to sacrifice a *taurus* to Jupiter (III: 279). It was a *piaculum*, if anything at the sacrifice was bound; therefore the victim itself was not bound in such a way that it could not free itself, or it was led entirely free and without fetters (II: 134; IV: 518). It was a *piaculum* not to slay an *effugia* (II: 104), wherever it might be found. It was a *piaculum* to interrupt a rite or a ritual act. How delighted were the Romans, for example, when, being called away from the *ludi circenses* into battle against Hannibal, on their return they still found an old man dancing in the circus, who could assure

them that no interruption had taken place! Hence the proverb: “*Salva est res, saltat senex*” (VIII:110) or “*Omnia secunda, saltat senex*” (III:279). In short, the least transgression against that which was prescribed for a rite (IV:646), was a *piaculum*. —

Sacrificia indictiva were those for which the date always had to be set, or which were announced for special occasions (I:632). The *sacrificia anniversaria* or *sollemnia*, i. e. the fixed and regular annual sacrifices could not be postponed, because they could not be repeated; the *kalendaria*, on the other hand, were sacrifices which occurred monthly and could be repeated. A postponement, if necessary, or temporary omission of these was not considered a *piaculum* (VIII:173). —

And now that we are about to describe briefly a public sacrifice of the Romans, it must be expressly understood, that this description cannot be complete in all its details, because we must adhere to what Servius says about it; yet the main points of it, to be sure, will be apparent. The solemn procession advances to the place of sacrifice. The victims are adorned with ribbons and garlands (II:133), the horns of the cattle are even gilded (IX:624). Alongside the altar the indispensable hearth is placed, for without a *focus* no private or public sacrifice is permitted (III:134). The herald, *praeco*, demanding attention, says: “*Favete linguis, favete vocibus*,” i. e. “Hush, or let only auspicious words be spoken” (V:71; VIII:173). When praying they touch the altar, otherwise the sacrifice is not acceptable to the gods (IV:219). He who sacrifices, be he the *pontifex* or a *magistratus*, in the *cinctus Gabinus*, i. e. the *toga* rolled up in a peculiar fashion and drawn over the head (V:755; VII:612), pours water and wine upon the forehead of the victim, in order to test it thereby. If it is frightened and shudders, it is not fit for sacrifice (VI:244). Besides wine he also uses frankincense, with these words: “*mactus est taurus vino vel ture*” (IX:641); hence the word *mactare* = *magis augere*. Then he sprinkles over the victim, the hearth and the offering-knife *horna mola salsa*, i. e. flour-mixed salt, hence *immolatio*, *immolare* (II:133; IV:57; X:541); furthermore, he makes a certain gesture with the offering-knife along the back of the animal, from head to tail (XII:173) and delivers the victim to the attendant, who kills it; *cultrum supponere* is the euphemistic expression (VI:248). When the *exta*, i. e.

heart, liver, lungs etc., after a thorough investigation, are found to be acceptable, they are carefully prepared and offered to the gods. The rest of the animal, the roasted meat, simply called *viscera* (I: 211; VI: 253), belongs to the priests, who then close the solemn act with a feast (III: 231).—

At private sacrifices the meat belongs to those who make the sacrifice and to their friends. Formerly after the sacrifice at the *ara maxima* of Hercules a so-called *visceratio*, i. e. a public distribution of meat to the people, was made, at which nothing of the bull should be left over (VIII: 183). At the same place Servius says (in contradiction to the statement just made?) that the meat of the victim was sold there at a high price, and that for the money obtained in this way another victim was bought etc.; Wissowa (pg. 226, 7) calls this an “invention, made to explain Vergil’s words *perpetui tergo bovis*.” Servius also mentions (VI: 253) the so-called *holocaustum*, a sacrifice at which the entire animal was burned; Wissowa (pg. 352, 6) maintains that such a sacrifice was unknown to the old Roman rite. So much may be said about *sacrificia*, in which, of course, *sacra* are included, as far as they coincide wholly or nearly so with *sacrificia*.

2.) *Sacra*.

In the sense of mysteries, secret worship, the following *sacra* may be mentioned. First, there are the *sacra Liberi*, which were renewed every third year, and at which unbridled and wild and, in fact, immoral orgies were the order of the day (IV: 302; X: 41). But one must not confuse the *Bacchanalia* which were later forbidden by law, with those harmless festivals at the time of vintage. Then, there were the *sacra Junonis*, i. e. *Junonis Caelestis*, who during the second Punic war had been solemnly entreated to leave (*exorata*) and who at the time of the third Punic war was transferred by Scipio from Carthage to Rome, together with her obscene worship (XII: 841). Furthermore, there were the *sacra Hecates*, which were celebrated in the darkness of night at triple cross-roads, and at which worship the roaring of thunder was imitated (IV: 510; IV: 609). Then there were the *sacra matris deum*, of the Phrygian Cybele, also called Berecynthia, which were celebrated by frantic dances and under deafening tunes of music. The priest and worshippers of Cybele, called *Archigalli*, even severed their private parts

(VI: 784; XII: 836; IX: 115). Finally, the *sacra Isidis*, at which sprinkling with water of the Nile was prescribed (II: 116) and lamentation over Osiris, the husband of Isis, was raised; Osiris, according to tradition, had been cut to pieces by his brother Typhon (IV: 609). At the time of Augustus these *Aegyptia sacra* did not yet exist in Rome, most likely on account of Cleopatra who wished to be identified with Isis (VIII: 696, 698). —

At the *sacra gentilitia* the expenses, of course, were paid by the *gens* which was concerned in it; yet there are some *gentes* which enjoyed a special position, one, we should say of preference, since the state had taken the expenses on itself, but had made the public priesthood even hereditary for them. Servius mentions at least three of these *sacra gentilitia publica*. The *Potitii* and *Pinarii* to whose ancestors the god himself is said to have shown, how they should sacrifice to him in the morning and at night, had the worship of Hercules at the *ara maxima*, the *Potitii* occupying the presidency and holding the priestly privileges, and the *Pinarii* attending to the work. Thus Hercules himself had decreed, because Pinarius had not arrived early enough at the time when the *sacra* were instituted. Lateron, though no slaves or freedmen (VIII: 179) were admitted to the *sacra* of Hercules, in fact no “strangers” to any *sacra* (VIII: 172), the *Potitii*, whom Appius Claudius had bribed with money, were persuaded to instruct public slaves in the worship of Hercules; the consequence was that Appius Claudius became blind, the *gens Potitia* died out entirely within a year and the state itself took over these *sacra* and attended to them through the *Praetor urbanus*, with the aid of public slaves (VIII: 269, 270, 271, 276). The *gens Nautia* had the worship of Minerva, because through their ancestor, according to tradition, the *palladium* of the Trojan Pallas (Minerva) had come to Rome. Diomedes who together with Ulixes had stolen it, moved by remorse, desired to return it to Aeneas, but since he had found Aeneas sacrificing, with his head averted, Nautes had taken it into his care. Servius mentions still other traditions regarding the *palladium* Minervae, — some speak of two, some even of many *palladia* — yet we cannot dwell too long on this point (II: 166; III: 407; V: 704). The *gens Julia* “*retinebat*,” i. e. had and retained for itself the *sacra Apollinis*, because the first of the family of the Caesars was born *exseco* or

caeso matris ventre, just as Aesculapius, the son of Apollo; and all such were consecrated to Apollo (VII: 761; X: 316).

3.) *Ludi*.

The *ludi* also, i. e. games of the Romans, cannot be passed over entirely, and even if personal pleasure at these games was the most important factor, yet they were celebrated in honor of various deities; in fact, in III: 279 Servius says that games were celebrated when a *piaculum* had been committed. At the games all those present, children and adults (*omnis aetas* V: 71) were adorned with garlands. The *Consualia* had been instituted by Romulus in honor of Consus, the god of counsel, even at the time of the rape of the Sabine virgins i. e. in the month of March. Since Consus was identical with Neptunus *Equus*, these games were also simply called *circenses*. The name, *circenses*, is derived from *circuitus* or from *circa enses*; "for where now are obelisks, at one time there were placed two swords (*enses*), around which the chariot-racers had to drive." On account of the small number of horses at that time any other kind of animals was used at the chariot-races (VIII: 636). The *ludi Apollinares* were instituted in the second Punic war or at the time of Sulla, in consequence of an oracle of the *Marcii fratres* (VI: 70). Other *ludi Apollinares*, the so-called *ludi Actiaci*, were instituted by Augustus after his victory over Antonius; but they were celebrated at Nicopolis opposite Actium (III: 274). They were also called *agonales* (III: 280). *Ludi theatrales* were celebrated in the very earliest times in honor of Liber *pater* only (XI: 737). *Ludi Compitalicii*, i. e. festivals of the *lares* (VIII: 717) are merely mentioned. The *ludi funebres* have been spoken of previously. At the *ludi funebres* which Augustus gave for his father Caesar, a bright star appeared in the northern sky for three days, and the people came to the belief that Caesar was raised among the celestial gods (VI: 790; VIII: 681; I: 286). Very little is known about the *ludi Taurei* which undoubtedly were vowed to and celebrated in honor of the gods of the lower world. Servius says that, according to the *libri fatales*, they were instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, *quod omnis partus mulierum male cedebat*, i. e. because the women could not give birth, and, therefore, were *taureae*. According to other traditions the *ludi Taurei* were established by the Sabines at the time of

a pestilence, in order that the epidemic should pass to the *hostiae taureae*, the barren (II:140).

4.) *Sacerdotes*.

A *sacerdos* is forbidden to enter a house of mourning before the fifth day after a burial (I:329). Only a *sacerdos* is allowed to enter (II:115) the innermost and holiest part of a temple (*adytum*) and, according to II:404 only a religious *sacerdos*. Only a *sacerdos* is permitted to see the *penates Aeneae* (III:12). Priests were exempt from military service (VII:442). Their official dress was a white robe (X:539), which, of course, for different priests was different by design. About this as well as about the headdress of the priests (II:683), more will be said elsewhere. The sacrificial robe, however, at all times had to be *pura*, not only externally, but also especially in the religious sense, i. e. *inpolluta* (XII:169).

At length we shall now speak about

B.) the special ritual acts of those who were authorized to perform them by virtue of their official position.

The following are mentioned by Servius:

1.) The *Pontifices* and the *Pontifex Maximus*.

They had been instituted by Numa and had their name, as also the songs of the *Salii* tell (II:166), from the wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*), which they had built across the Tiber, that they might do their duty on both banks of the river. There were *Pontifices* not only at Rome, but also at Praeneste (VII:678). They had charge of the entire Roman religion and especially of rites and ritual acts and it was their duty to see that these were carried out in the prescribed manner — *rite* — and at the proper time, and that they by no means should be neglected (III:104; XII:192). The *ius pontificum* prohibited the calling of the Roman deities at public prayer by their own names. Hence the *Pontifices* invoked the gods with the quite general addition: "Whosoever you are, or by whatever name you desire to be invoked." On the *capitolium* was a shield, a sacred shield, with the inscription: "To the Genius of the city of Rome, whether he be male or female," a proof that the Romans wished to con-

ceal, under which deity's protection their city was (II: 351). Not even the "true" name of the city could be pronounced at the *sacra*. Valerius Soranus, the *tribunus plebei*, according to Varro and others, did this once and had to give up his life for it (I: 277). In fact, the ritual demanded that, to whatever deity one sacrificed or prayed, after that deity the other gods in general should be invoked (VIII: 103), especially Janus and Vesta (I: 292). Why then this generalization and why this secrecy? Because the Romans reasoned quite correctly that even a public worship for a special deity really concerned all the gods *in corpore*, and because they did not wish to incur the enmity of any one; then, too, fearing that their own rite of *evocatio*, i. e. the solemn act of calling out the deities of a besieged city and offering them new domiciles at Rome, might be imitated by the enemy and thus be used as a weapon against themselves. About the so-called *indigitamenta* (from the old word *indigeto* = *precor* or *invoco* XII: 794), i. e. certain prayers for certain deities, which prayers were prescribed by the *Pontifices* in their litany, Servius has very little that is worth mentioning, unless one desires to call attention to the following correct invocations, for Jupiter: "*Jupiter optime maxime*" (II: 351), or for Tiberinus: "*Adesto, Tiberine, cum tuis undis*" (VIII: 72). Although at public invocations the way of expression was very important, still we search in vain for an instance in Servius, which would show that the *Pontifices* dictated word for word to those sacrificing, as, for example, to the *Censores*, who then would repeat these words exactly. We find, however, that the *Pontifex* took part in the *lustrum* inasmuch as he (or the *Censor*) received with his hands the *lustralia*, in order to place them upon the altar (VIII: 183).—

It was a *nefas* for a *Pontifex* to see a deceased, a still greater *nefas*, however, to leave him unburied or to deny him the *iniectio pulveris* (VI: 176). The so-called *agnoscere funus*, i. e. to receive news of a death (in the family) and to lament, to grieve over it, likewise, made him impure and therefore unfit for a public sacrifice. But when a *Pontifex* who is just about to begin a sacred offering, is notified of a death, what then? In such a case the precedent of Horatius Pulvius (509 B. C.) is observed, to whom during his prayer his enemies, in order to make it impossible for him to proceed with the consecration of the temple at the Capitol, reported the death of his son,

but he did not permit himself to be disturbed, simply said “*cadaver sit*,” and finished the act of consecration, before he acknowledged his son’s death (VI: 8; XI: 2). —

In times of drought the *Pontifices* dragged the so-called *lapis manalis* through the city at the votive procession of the *aquaelicium* (III: 175). Finally, the *Pontifices* were not allowed to swear “*per liberos*,” but only “*per deos*” (IX: 298). —

The *Pontifex Maximus*, the president of the council and in general the executive of resolutions, hence often simply called *Pontifex*, had to take special care of the *annales*, i. e. he had to record accurately for every day of the year the most important occurrences both at home and abroad, on land and at sea, giving both the names of the consuls and of other magistrates. Later there were eighty books of these *annales maximi* (I: 373). The official residence of the *Pontifex Maximus* was the old *Regia* (VIII: 363).

2.) The *Rex Sacrorum* and the *Regina*.

These were instituted immediately after the expulsion of the kings. The *Rex Sacrorum*, likewise called *Rex Sacrificus* or *Sacrificulus*, took care of all those *sacra*, which formerly had been in the hands of the kings. In rank the *Rex Sacrorum* was above all (II: 2), but in relation to service he was subordinate to the *Pontifex Maximus*. At the *curia Calabra* he had to announce every month in the presence of the people who were called together (*calare* = *vocare*) the *Kalendae* and the *Idus*, in order that they should know on what day they were, and that they should, furthermore, know beforehand the days for games and sacrifices; for a calendar, *fasti*, was not then known (VIII: 654). This is all that Servius relates about the duties of the *Rex Sacrorum*. —

Concerning the wife of the *Rex Sacrorum*, who was called *Regina Sacrorum*, only this much is mentioned, that at certain ritual acts she wore an *arculum* on her head, i. e. a twig of pomegranate-tree (*malus Punica*), which was wound into a garland and was tied together at both ends with a white woolen thread (IV: 137). Servius does not go into details concerning sacrifices which the *Regina* had to offer as well as the *Rex Sacrorum*.

3.) The *Flamines*; especially the *Flamen Dialis* and the *Flaminica*.

Thus were called at Rome the priests of some particular deity. The *Flamines* are divided into two classes, *Flamines maiores* and *Flamines minores*. The *Flamines maiores* were three in number, namely, *Flamen Dialis*, *Flamen Martialis*, *Flamen Quirinalis*, who dated back to Numa. The *Flamines minores*, twelve in number, were instituted in later times. The latter Servius does not mention at all, and when he means the *Flamen Martialis* or *Quirinalis*, he adds the explanatory adjective. In all other cases, especially when he speaks of *Flamen* in the singular, the *Flamen Dialis* is meant, who is the most important of all. If beside *Flamen* also *Flaminica* is mentioned, then the reference always refers to the *Flamen Dialis*; for only his wife had that name. —

The *Flamen Dialis* and the *Flaminica*, whose official residence was the *Flaminia* (II: 57; VIII: 363), could only marry under the old rules of the *confarreatio* (cf. Part I: 1) and had to be descendants of such a marriage (IV: 103, 339). At the wedding, with their heads covered, they sat on chairs, over which was spread the fleece of the sheep that had been sacrificed (IV: 374). Their marriage could not be dissolved, unless through death. This is, perhaps, what Servius means when he says that she was only allowed to have one husband and he only one wife; yet the *Flamen Dialis* could marry again after the death of the *Flaminica* (IV: 29). Whether he, however, had to resign his office as soon as his wife had died, Servius does not mention. —

At the sacrifices (*the Flamen Dialis* had to sacrifice daily, VIII: 552) the *Flamen Dialis* and the *Flaminica* used the so-called *secespita*, an oblong knife of iron with a round handle of massive ivory, decorated with silver and gold and fastened with brass nails (IV: 262). The boys and girls who assisted the *Flamen Dialis* and the *Flaminica* at the ritual acts were called *Camilli* and *Camillae*. But they had to be children of free-born parents (XI: 543, 558). —

As a covering for the head the *Flamines* wore the *pilleum*, i. e. a conical fur cap, to which as *apex* a small rod topped with something woolen was attached. The word *apex* (from *apere* = *relegare*) was often used to signify the entire covering for the head. The name *Flamines* = *filamines* is said to

be derived from *filum*, the woollen thread whereby the *apex* was fastened to the *pilleum*; or, perhaps, from *filum*, i. e. ribbon of wool, which the *Flamines* wore around the forehead, when it was very hot or when they were perchance at leisure; for entirely bareheaded a *Flamen* should never be, especially a *Flamen Dialis* (cf. also I:305). At Laurolavinium they wore an especially long *virga* on their *pilleum*, in order to keep away thereby the birds which were eager to steal from the meat of the sacrifice (II:683; VIII:664; X:270). The dress of the *Flamen Dialis* was the *praetexta*, the purple-broidered *toga*, of double wool, hence also called *laena*, which had to be woven by the *Flaminica* herself (IV:262). Hence when Servius (VII:190) attributes the *trabea*, the purple-striped official attire, to the *augures* and also to the *Flamen Dialis* and *Flamen Martialis*, this, perhaps, may not be quite correct in regard to the *Flamen Dialis*, at least not in earlier times. The *Flaminica* wore a purple dress, which was fastened by the *fibula*, a buckle. Her head-covering, the *rica*, a certain kind of veil, was likewise purple; at every sacrifice, however, she had to wear as head-gear the *arculum*, which we have already described in connection with the *Regina Sacrorum* (IV:137). —

Flamen Dialis and *Flaminica*, moreover, in spite of all their privileges were also subjected to many restrictions, through which in the end their purity and holiness should be extolled only the more. The *Flaminica* was allowed to wear neither shoes nor sandals of the leather of an animal which had died a natural death (*morticina*); she was never allowed to gird herself above the knees (IV:518) nor to ascend any stairs higher than three steps, except if they were the so-called Greek stairs, of which the boards were fastened together in such a way, that there was no opening (IV:646). The *Flamen Dialis* was not permitted to touch leaven (*farina fermentata*) (I:179). Neither his beard nor his hair was to be cut with anything else but a brass knife (I:448). No empty table was allowed to be placed before him (I:707), that means, perhaps, that all food and drink for him had to be on the table when it was set before him. He was allowed to touch only one deceased (XI:76), nor was he allowed to ride on horse-back etc. Servius, it is true, says in VIII:552, *pontificibus non licet equo vehi*, but he evidently confuses *pontifices* with *Flamen Dialis*. For the *Flamen Martialis*

and the *Flamen Quirinalis* the limitations were not so strict as for the *Flamen Dialis*. They were, for instance, not bound to their residence by daily sacrifices (VIII: 552), but they could even go to the province, cross the boundary lines, mount a horse etc. They were not compelled to wear the *praetexta* at all times, and could take off the *apex*, except when sacrificing.

4.) The *Vestales Virgines*.

Thus were called the virgin priestesses of Vesta, the protecting goddess of the Roman hearth, in whose temple perpetual fire was burning (II: 296, 297). This institution is generally ascribed to Numa; but how about Romulus, whose mother is said to have been a Vestal Virgin (I: 273)? There were Vestal Virgins at Lavinium (III: 12) and, of course, at Rome, where Vesta had a temple at the foot of the Palatine hill. It was no real temple in the narrower sense of the word, according to the principle of Varro, that a temple has to be a four cornered edifice (II: 512); for the temple of Vesta was round. Nor was it consecrated by the augurs, so that, for example, the senate could not meet there. The "monasterial" residence of the *Vestales* was the *Atrium Vestae*, situated close by (VII: 153). —

Of the Vestal service at Lavinium tradition tells that there once a Vestal Virgin was struck by lightning, because she had been unchaste, and that the other Vestal Virgin who slept beside her had noticed nothing at all of the accident (III: 12). All water which was necessary at sacrificial services in Lavinium, had to be taken from the Numicus river (VII: 150); at any rate, it had to be spring water (*hausta*) which was carried to the place of sacrifice in jars which could not be set on the ground without pouring out the contents; hence called *vasa futilia* (XI: 339). On a certain day the Vestal Virgins went to the *Rex Sacrorum* and said: "*vigilasne rex? vigila!*" (X: 228), a rite, about which nothing further is known. This is all we can gather from Servius about the functions of the Vestals. —

The goddess Caca, too, who very early passed into oblivion, had a chapel at Rome where she was worshipped by *Virgines Vestae* (VIII: 190). Preller (II. pg. 287) and Wissowa (pg. 144, 145) follow the reading of the *Codex Floriacensis*: "a

chapel where she (Caca) was worshipped like Vesta, with perpetual fire.” —

In connection with Vesta and Lavinium *penates* are also mentioned, and these by no means can we pass over. About *penates* as deities of the house we have already spoken (Part I: 2). Since however the Roman state was considered one house, one family, naturally there also existed *penates* of the state, and these will be considered here. In general, originally the *penates* of Aeneas were understood by these, and the Romans were satisfied with the thought that they were the deities which Aeneas had brought with him to Lavinium and for Lavinium; for twice, tradition tells, had the Romans tried to transfer them to Rome, but every time they had returned to their place in Lavinium (III: 12). Later an attempt was made to find out which deities were meant, whether Vesta was one of the *penates* or not etc. (II: 296). It is Cassius Hemina the annalist, who introduces the theory that the *penates* were the so-called *magni dei* from Samothrace (I: 378). Varro, who otherwise speaks of the *penates Aeneae* as being little statues of wood or stone (I: 378; III: 148), was not strictly opposed to the theory of Cassius Hemina; on the contrary, he was rather conciliatory toward that theory, and even conjectured about Castor and Pollux, whose big statues were at Samothrace (III: 12). Still he maintained that Dardanus had brought these *penates* from Samothrace to Phrygia, and Aeneas from Phrygia to Italy, i. e. to Lavinium. Nigidius and Labeo mention Neptune and Apollo as these *penates* (I: 378; III: 119); others mention *Caelum ac Terra* = Jupiter and Juno, or Jupiter, Minerva, Mercurius, or Juno, Jupiter, Minerva and Mercurius. (II: 296; VIII: 679); and still others simply mention “youths armed with the spear” (II: 325). The Etruscans, even, mention Ceres, Pales and Fortuna as the *penates* (II: 325). The question might perhaps justly be raised: All these speculations, *cui bono*? One of the reasons which Servius (III: 12) enumerates, why it is, perhaps, that these *penates* were called *magni dei*, is, “because nobody knows their names;” therefore we also may do well in letting the speculation rest.

5.) The *Augures* and *Auspices*.

The establishment of the *augures* or *auspices* as they were called in ancient time, (a class of officials, who had to read

the will of the gods from the flight or twittering of birds and from other signs) is generally attributed to Numa, although, indeed, Romulus and Remus were the first Roman *auspices* (I: 273). They wore the *trabea*, the purple and scarlet-striped public garb (VII: 188).—

The difference between *augurium* (*avigerium*) and *auspicium* (*avispicium*) is this, that the *augurium* is sought for and is given by certain birds, while the *auspicium* is given by any birds and is not sought. Accordingly, an *auspicium* may be considered a *species* of the *augurium* (I: 398; III: 20). It was not sufficient, however, to see a single *augurium*; it had to be confirmed *ex simili* (II: 691; III: 515).—

The *signa ex caelo* are to be treated later under *haruspices*; about the *signa ex avibus* the following may be mentioned here. Birds were grouped into two classes, the *alites*, those that were significant by flight, and the *oscines*, those that were significant by their voice. When propitious, they were called *praepetes*, when unpropitious, *inebrae* (I: 393; III: 246, 361). Those birds who as *alites* gave propitious omens, were as *oscines* unpropitious and *vice versa* (IV: 462). Doves give an *augurium* only to a king, swans only to navigators (I: 393). In other respects, too, there is a certain regulation of rank among birds. An eagle, for example, is valued more highly than a dove (II: 691) or an owl or a wood-pecker (III: 374). When observing the *signa ex caelo*, especially those *ex avibus*, the augur after prayer limited with his *lituus* the space, *templum*, of the sky and on earth, within which space he wished to take the *augurium* (VII: 187). Immovably he sat (IX: 4) or stood there (VI: 197) and looked towards the East, and accordingly he had the North at his left, the South at his right and the West at his back; thus Servius (II: 693) expressly states, while others maintain that the augur was looking toward the South and that, consequently, the East was at his left, the West at his right, and the North at his back. Wissowa (pg. 452, 453) conjectures that “the way of placing himself was left entirely to the augur, only in his invocation he had to indicate exactly, what he considered front, left, right or back, in order that there could be no doubt about the interpretation of the omens; and this really is meant by *legum dictio* (III: 89).” The omens which came from the left, were, according to Roman interpretation, propitious, those from the right, unpropitious (II: 693).—

The so-called *signa ex tripudiis*, omens observed from the manner in which the sacred chickens devoured the food, Servius mentions (VI:198) as pertaining to *comitia* and war, because they are short and convenient. In III:90 he also mentions a *tripudium sonivium*, i.e. a *sono*, such as, for example, when a tree tumbles over with its roots or the earth quakes. An *augurium*, too, which is called *iugetis*, *quod ex iunctis iumentis fiat*, is mentioned (III:537). —

Of the *dira*, the evil, ill-forboding omens there are many. A screech-owl that screeches upon a building, forebodes death; however, when it does not screech, it brings luck. When a screech owl carries to a roof a little twig from a funeral pyre, a fire is to be expected (IV:462). The *grues*, cranes, bring a storm (X:266). To see a burning funeral pyre brings misfortune to sailors (V:7). When a pine-tree is struck by lightning, the lady of the house, the mistress, is soon to die (II:16). Thunder makes void the *auspicia* (IV:161) and crossing a river the *auguria* (IX:24). It is considered an evil omen, when before a battle the military emblems in the camp are only with great difficulty lifted out of the ground, and a disaster is sure to follow. Crassus and his son in the war against Orodes, and Flaminius in the battle at the *lacus Trasumenus* (XI:19) are proof of this etc. etc. —

For the *auspicatio* of a magistrate, too, which was under his direction of judgment, the augur had to limit and define the place (*locus effatus*), in order that the public act could be there performed "*auspicato*." Such "*templum*" did not have to be limited by walls and partitions; it was sufficient if the four corners and boundaries were exactly and clearly defined and if there was but one entrance. The same was true of the *tabernaculum*, whence the magistrate could perform his auspices, and which was fenced in by pales and spears, linen canvas etc. The *tabernaculum*, too, had only one entrance or one exit respectively (IV:200; II:178). The same is true also of larger districts, for example, of the *ager post pomoeria*, where *auguria*, too, were taken (VI:197). Whether he wished to take notice or not of the so-called *auguria oblativa*, unsought omens, which perhaps might disturb the *auguria impetrativa*, was in the power of the magistrate (XII:259); yet the decision whether thereby a *vitium*, an error was committed or not, certainly rested with the augur. —

No war could be begun without *auspicia* (VII:606). When no good results in the war would appear, the general returned to Rome to obtain new *auguria*. Later, however, especially when war was waged outside of Italy, the general was freed from the trouble of undertaking such a journey, which sometimes kept him away from his army for a long time, by instituting a so-called *ager Romanus* in that province; and to this *ager Romanus* the general went, when the *auspicia* had to be renewed (II:78).

6.) The *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*.

The Sibylline books were entrusted to the care of the *Quindecimviri*; hence they were called Sibylline priests (III:332). At first there were two of them, then ten, then fifteen to the time of Sulla, later on still more, even sixty; yet the name was confined to the number fifteen, whence *Quindecimviri* (VI:73).—

Sibylla, *σιοῦ* (*Θεοῦ*) *βουλῆ*, i. e. the voice or will of God (III:445; VI:12), especially *vates Apollinis*, i. e. prophetess of Apollo (III:332), is really a generic term. Vergil mentions a Sibylla of Cumae, Varro the one of Erythrae (VI:36); Varro even wrote a book about the number of Sibyls (III:445). The replies of the Sibyls were oral or more frequently written. According to Varro they were even written on palm leaves, sometimes consisting only of certain notes (*notae*), in fact of single letters (*notae litterarum*), sometimes in connected words (*sermones*) and then always in verse form (III:444, 445; VI:74). According to tradition the Romans came into possession of the Sibylline books in this way: One time a woman, named Amalthea, offered to king Tarquinius for a high price nine books containing the decrees of the destiny of the Romans and the appropriate remedies, oracles in the Greek language; but the price of the books was too high for the king. Then she burned three books and demanded the same price for the rest. Again the price being refused, a second time she again burned three books and for the books that were left, she received the price which she originally asked for all, because the king was amazed by the fact that the price still remained the same. These books were preserved in the temple of Apollo, together with those of the *Marcii fratres* and of the nymph Begöe (VI:72). They were later destroyed by a fire in the temple

of Apollo, but they were replaced by a new collection, especially from Erythrae (VI: 321). Servius apparently confuses the temple of Apollo with the *Capitolinum* which burnt down in 83 B. C. The new collection of the Sibylline books came into the temple of Apollo only under the reign of Augustus. The Sibylline books, as we mentioned above, were entrusted to the care of the *Quindecimviri*, who consulted them for the state in dangerous and critical times. Servius, however, does not mention a special case or rather a description of such a case; yet he indicates (III: 332), that tripod and dolphin, the symbols of Apollo, played an important part in the service of the *Quindecimviri*.

7.) The *Haruspices*.

Thus the Romans called the soothsayers who exercised the *haruspicina*. The *haruspicina* did not rest upon inspiration, as the oracles of the Sibyl did, but upon skill and a skilful system (III: 359). It originated with the Etruscans, also called Tusci (*ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν*); Tages is said to have invented this art (II: 781) and to have set it forth in the *libri Haruspicinae* and the *sacra Acheruntia* (VIII: 398). Besides, there are mentioned the *libri reconditi* (I: 398; II. 649); furthermore, the *Etrusci libri de fulguratura* (I: 42) and the *ars fulguritarum*, which was written by the nymph Begoë (VI: 72).—

Thereby it is indicated that *haruspicina* refers not only to the inspection of the entrails, but also to the interpretation of lightning. To these a third matter may be added, the interpretation of *prodigia*, phenomena contrary to nature. Servius seems to have dealt little with *prodigia*. About the *extispicina*, inspection of entrails, nothing more can be added to what has been mentioned on various occasions under “*sacrificia*.” Still we have to speak of the little we find regarding the interpretation of lightning. “Interpretation of lightning” we said, interpretation is really all; for means of atonement are not furnished by the *Haruspices*. In the *libri Etrusci* lightning is called *manubiae*, and Jupiter, Juno, Minerva and Vulcan are called hurlers of lightning (I: 42). Elsewhere (VIII: 429) Servius points to the twelve months of the year, divides the year into the four seasons and attributes the *manubiae* of the winter to Jupiter, those of the spring to Juno, those of the summer to Mars and those of the autumn to Auster. The *Physici*, the natural philosophers

(VIII:427), divided the sky into sixteen districts whence lightning comes. —

Three kinds of lightning are mentioned (II:649), *fulmen quod adflat, quod incendit, quod findit*. When lightning has touched (*adflavit*) a nobleman or a king and he remains alive, then his posterity could be assured of perpetual renown and highest honors, as in the case of Anchises and his descendants. Similar is the *triplex potestas fulminis* in VIII:429; there is a *fulmen ostentatorium*, i. e. lightning which causes fear and fright, a *fulmen peremptorium*, i. e. one which destroys, and, finally, a *fulmen praesagum*, i. e. one which forbodes or prophesies. Evidently the Etruscans had acquired their *disciplina* by experience and exercise of many years, and the Romans took great care that their skill of interpreting the divine will should be perpetuated through education. The *Haruspices* were not public priests in the strict sense, although, especially in later times, they were of great importance, since they had the function of inspecting the entrails.

8.) The *Fetiales* and the *Pater Patratus*.

This was the name of the *collegium* of priests which was instituted by Numa or Ancus Marcius and which under certain rites performed and consecrated treaties, declarations of war etc. (I:62; IV:243; VII:623; XII:120). The symbols, — *silex*, flint stone (VIII:641) and sceptre (XII:206) — whereby they proved that they were guardians and representatives of international law and also representatives of Jupiter, they took from the temple of Jupiter, whenever they wished to conclude a treaty or declare war. Another symbol they had was a garland of *verbenae*, sacred grass, which grew at a consecrated place on the Capitol (XII:120). The *iura fetialia* the Romans had received from the Falisei in Etruria (VII:695). *Pater patratus* was called the constituent — *princeps*, according to Servius (IX:52) — who in every case was chosen from their number. The *Fetiales* and *Pater patratus* were not allowed to wear linen clothing (XII:120). —

The word *foedus* is said to have its origin in the fact that the victim — a pig, *porcus* — prescribed for a *foedus* (treaty), was killed “*foede*” with the sacred flint (*silex*) and not with a knife or a sword (I:62; VIII:641, X:154). Water and

fire were indispensable in concluding a treaty; as also in regard to him whom they banished from their community, the Romans used the expression: *aqua et igni ei interdicimus* (XII: 119). According to ancient tradition the fire had to be obtained from heaven by invocation of Jupiter who consecrates treaties with his lightning. Gleaming — *coruscatio* — a faint lightning sufficed (XII: 200). —

If the Roman people thought that they had been insulted in any way by another people, and that there was a sufficient and just reason for war, the *Pater patratus* with a few *Fetiales* was at first sent to the border to demand satisfaction in clear and unmistakable language (hence called *clarigatio*); he, furthermore, demanded reason for such behavior on the part of the people in question, otherwise a declaration of war would be inevitable. If no satisfaction was given, they (the *Pater patratus* and the *Fetiales*) returned after thirty days and, invoking Jupiter and Janus (XII: 198, 200), the *Pater patratus* threw a spear into the hostile country, whereby war was officially declared. But since in later years, on account of the expansion of the Roman empire, all this could not be done at the boundary of the hostile country, this rite took place at the little square before the temple of Bellona near the city. In the war against Pyrrhus this small piece of land was bought by a captive and declared to be the enemy's country. There, consequently, the *Pater patratus* from that time on hurled the spear over the *columna*, the pillar marking the boundary of the so-called enemy's country (IX: 52).

9.) The *Salii*.

The name *Salii* is perhaps best derived from *salio* — to dance —, since they danced around the altars and since armed dances were connected with their processions through the city (VIII: 285, 663). Another derivation is the one from a certain Salius, a companion of Aeneas (VIII: 663); a third one is from Halesus (*ἁλς* = *sal*), the son of Neptune (VIII: 285). According to a fourth derivation the Romans made “*Salii*” out of the word “*Sai*,” by which name at Samothrace the priests of the *penates* were said to have been called (II: 325). The assertion of Servius that Numa had instituted the *Salii Collini et Quirinales*, but Hostilius the *Pavonii et Pallorii* (VIII: 285), is not supported by others. Generally

the *Salii Palatini* are attributed to Numa and the *Salii Collini atque Quirinales* to Hostilius. All were consecrated to Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus (VIII: 663). At Tusculum, too, there were *Salii* who were even said to be older than those at Rome, also at Tibur, where they worshipped Hercules (VIII: 285). —

To the armor of the *Salii* belonged 'above all the *ancilia*, small shields, which for their processions and armed dances they fetched from the temple of Mars, where they were generally preserved. Originally there was only one small shield which, according to tradition, had fallen from heaven. Connected with this shield was the prophecy that, wherever this shield was, there also would be the empire of the world. Consequently, in order that the enemy should not be able to recognize and take away the shield, Mamurius the artisan is said to have made many similar shields for Numa, which were classed among the precious things of the Roman empire. In remembrance the Romans celebrated in March the *Mamuralia*, with which festival the peculiar rite was connected that the *Salii* "lashed a fleece," i. e., most likely, a man covered with fleece, *ad artis similitudinem*, since a smith, too, is constantly hammering and beating (VII: 188; VIII: 664). This is all the information we can derive from Servius about the *Salii*.

10.) The *Luperci*.

The *Luperci* are priests "of him who wards off wolves;" for *Lupercus* is the name of the Lycaean Pan, and Pan, as said above, is identical with Faunus, the god of sheep and shepherds. —

Even Romulus and Remus, according to tradition, celebrated the *Lupercalia* before the founding of the city. Accordingly, this is the oldest Roman festival. The story goes that at a certain time word was brought to them that robbers had driven away their cattle, but that they, Romulus and Remus, even leaving behind their *toga*, had pursued the robbers and had taken the cattle away from them. Hence the explanation that later the *Luperci* appeared stripped at the festival, i. e. perhaps only clad in the fleece of the victim. The festival began with the sacrifice of a ram in the *Lupercal* at the foot of the Palatine, where the she-wolf had nursed Romulus and Remus. Then the *Luperci, nudi*, as explained above, hurried

through the city, and married women willingly submitted to be lashed with straps (Part I:2), because this was said to bring fecundity, as well as purification and expiation (VIII:343, 663). —

For the worship of Apollo *Soranus* at Soracte Servius mentions also *Luperci*, the so-called *hirpi Sorani*, (*hirpus* is the Sabine word for wolf). Whether they were in any way connected with or related to the Roman *Luperci*, does not appear in the quotation from Servius (XI:785).

11.) The *Magistratus*, especially the *Magistratus maiores*.

The common robe of the *Magistratus* was the *praetexta*, the purple-broidered *toga* (XII:169). The *Imperatores* had a right to the *sella curulis* (as the curulian magistrates in general) and to the *trabea*, i. e. the purple-striped public garb (XI:334). When at the founding of a city a magistrate marked out the walls of the new city with the plough, he wore the *toga* in the so-called *cinctus Gabinus* (cf. Part II, A:1 at the public *sacrificia*). Of the team of cattle, the bull was on the right side, the outside, the cow on the left, the inside. The plough had to be handled in such a way that the clods fell inside; where there was to be a gate, the plough was raised and the furrow interrupted (IV:212; V:755). The *Consules*, *Praetores* and even the *Dictator* were accustomed to sacrifice to the *penates* at Lavinium and to Vesta, whenever they began their term of office or ended it. The *Imperatores*, too, sacrificed to the *penates*, when they departed for their provinces (II:296; III:12). Whoever undertook the command of war, first went into the temple of Mars, moved the *ancilia* and *h̄asta*, and said: "*Mars vigila!*" (VIII:3; VII:603). —

The *census*, i. e. estimating the possessions of a Roman citizen and assigning him as a tax payer to a certain class, was taken, as the name implies, by the *Censores*, and such a *census* was supposed to take place every fifth year. It ended with the *lustrum*, the expiation of the entire populace, on the *Campus Martius*. At this *lustrum* the *Censor*, or according to the expressed statement of Servius, both censors (hence *ambilustrum*) had to sacrifice a pig, a sheep and a bull, called *Suovetaurilia* (I:283; VIII:183). —

Ever since the *sacra Hercules* (which were discussed elsewhere in this dissertation) became a public affair, the *Praetor urbanus* had to offer the sacrifice annually at the *ara maxima*. He as well as the people around, for this occasion, was adorned with garlands of laurel, according to Greek ritual. The libation of wine was performed from the large cup of Hercules which was kept tight by pitch, and which Hercules himself is said to have brought to Italy (VIII: 276, 278). —

This is about all that can be said about Rites and Ritual Acts, as prescribed by the Roman Religion, according to the commentary of Servius on Vergil's *Aeneid*. Perhaps one or the other of my readers may look in vain for this or that, which he expected to find. But to him we would say: "It is not to be found in Servius." We do not lay claim to absolute correctness, yet the assurance may be given that the 1300 or more pages of the commentary have been read carefully and studied through twice and in most cases even three times; and an index-volume has not yet been published. Another of my readers may think: "But what is cited from Servius does not always agree with what I have found elsewhere." That is a question which may be settled with Servius and the other sources. Our aim and intention was to cling to Servius, although occasionally we found it necessary to discuss differences too great to be passed over without comment. —

From all that has been said, it appears at least, that Roman ritualism, extremely complicated as it was, comprised almost everything to the minutest details, and that it must have been (who knows how) troublesome and difficult to live up to all that was prescribed. And taken as a whole, with all this formalism, how little sincerity was there! —

In conclusion let us say a word of praise in honor of Servius: In his whole commentary there is not a single attack or side-cut upon Christianity, which most gladly he would have extirpated. In fact, he does not mention Christian ideas, but treats his pagan notions simply from an objective point of view, and leaves it to the option of the reader to make inferences himself. But through this we have come into possession of a commentary to Vergil, which no one who claims to understand Vergil thoroughly, can easily pass over. Not only Roman religion, but also philosophy, mythology, natural science, old Latin, usage of words, *ordo*, i. e. correct sequence of words for the translation of difficult passages, —

all this is properly treated. The commentary is especially valuable to us on account of the very many quotations, both short and long, from works which have not been entirely preserved for us. Of the works of Varro, for example, only two are extant, and the one of them incomplete. To whom, however, are we indebted for whatever else we have or know of the works of Varro? Of course, not entirely, but certainly to a great extent — to Servius.

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